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PAGE 01 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

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FOR LORD ONLY FROM HILL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR

SUBJECT: BICENTENNIAL ESSAY DRAFT

1. BEGIN TEXT: AMERICA AND THE WORLD (UNDERScoreD)

2. THE UNITED STATES WAS BORN OF A VISION WHICH EMBODIED

HUMANITY'S HIGHEST IDEALS. BUT IT ALSO WAS THE CREATION OF

LEADERS WITH A SENSE OF REALITY AND A READINESS FOR THE

PRACTICAL. YET THE TWO CENTURIES BETWEEN 1776 AND 1976

HAVE OFTEN SEEN OUR NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF IDEALISM

AND REALISM TREATED AS INCOMPATIBLE, WITH ONE OR THE

OTHER OUTLOOK PREDOMINATELY SHAPING OUR RELATIONS WITH THE

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PAGE 02 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

WORLD FOR A TIME. OUR NEED NOW IS NOT TO DEBATE THE

MERITS OF IDEALISM OR REALISM OR TO SWING ONCE AGAIN TO ONE OR THE OTHER, BUT TO RECAPTURE THE ESSENCE OF BOTH THAT THE FOUNDING FATHERS PUT TO SUCH INSPIRED USE.

3. THE CHALLENGE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS TO LIVE UP TO THIS NATION'S MORAL PROMISE WHILE FULFILLING THE PRACTICAL NEEDS OF WORLD ORDER. HOW WE MEET THIS CHALLENGE WILL DETERMINE OUR OWN PEACE AND PROGRESS AND THAT OF THE WORLD.

4. FROM ITS BEGINNING, AMERICANS HAVE BELIEVED THAT THIS COUNTRY HAD A MORAL SIGNIFICANCE THAT TRANSCENDED ITS GEOGRAPHIC, MILITARY OR ECONOMIC POWER. UNIQUE AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, AMERICA WAS CREATED AS A CONSCIOUS ACT BY MEN DEDICATED TO A SET OF POLITICAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES THEY BELIEVED TO BE OF UNIVERSAL APPLICABILITY. SMALL WONDER, THEN, THAT SANTAYANA CONCLUDED THAT: "BEING AN AMERICAN IS, OF ITSELF, ALMOST A MORAL CONDITION."

5. BUT THIS IDEALISM HAS ALSO BEEN IN CONSTANT TENSION WITH ANOTHER DEEP-SEATED STRAIN IN OUR HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE. SINCE DE TOCQUEVILLE, IT HAS BEEN FREQUENTLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

OBSERVED THAT WE ARE A PRAGMATIC PEOPLE -- COMMON- SENSICAL, UNDOGMATIC, AND UNDOCTRINAIRE -- A NATION OF PRACTICAL ENERGY, INGENUITY AND SPIRIT. WE HAVE MADE TOLERANCE AND COMPROMISE THE BASIS OF OUR DOMESTIC POLIT-

ICAL LIFE. WE HAVE DEFINED OUR BASIC GOALS -- JUSTICE,
LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND PROGRESS -- IN OPEN AND LIBERTARIAN
TERMS, ENLARGING OPPORTUNITY AND FREEDOM RATHER THAN
COERCING A UNIFORM STANDARD OF CONDUCT.

6. AMERICA HAS BEEN MOST EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONALLY WHEN
WE HAVE COMBINED OUR IDEALISTIC AND OUR PRAGMATIC
TRADITIONS. THE FOUNDING FATHERS WERE IDEALISTS WHO
LAUNCHED A NEW EXPERIMENT IN HUMAN LIBERTY. BUT THEY
WERE ALSO SOPHISTICATED MEN OF THE WORLD; THEY UNDERSTOOD
THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER AND MANIPULATED IT BRILLIANTLY
TO SECURE THEIR INDEPENDENCE. FRANKLIN AND JEFFERSON
PERCEIVED THAT THE EUROPEAN POWERS SAW THE CONFLICT IN
NORTH AMERICA AS PART OF A GLOBAL STRUGGLE. THEIR
SHREWD DIPLOMACY LED TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF BRITAIN'S
ENEMIES FRANCE, SPAIN, AND RUSSIA IN FORMS THAT FAVORED
THE CAUSE OF THE REBELLIOUS COLONIES -- AND THEN CUT
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PAGE 04 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

LOOSE FROM THEM IN A SEPARATE TREATY OF PEACE BY WHICH
JOHN JAY WON THE BRITISH CROWN'S RECOGNITION AND
LIQUIDATED THE RESIDUAL PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION.

7. THUS AMERICA'S ENERGIES WERE RELEASED TO POPULATE
AND BUILD A CONTINENTAL NATION AND TO PERFECT DOMESTIC
INSTITUTIONS. AS WE DID SO, BOTH OUR PRAGMATIC NATURE
AND OUR MORAL COMMITMENT THRUST DEEPER ROOTS INTO THE
NATIONAL CHARACTER -- BUT INCREASINGLY AS SEPARATE AND

EVEN CONTRASTING FACTORS. WHEN FACED IN 1802 WITH THE
ATTEMPT OF FRANCE TO CONTROL THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI
THOMAS JEFFERSON SAW THAT IDEALISTIC AIMS AND DIPLOMATIC
TRADITION WERE OVERSHADOWED BY THE PROSPECT OF A FUTURE
IN WHICH THE FRENCH WOULD CONTROL TRADE IN AND OUT OF THE
AMERICAN HEARTLAND. BUT AS OUR PRACTICAL NEEDS WERE
SERVED, SO TOO WAS OUR IDEALISTIC STRAIN. JAMES MADISON
DECLARED THAT "THE FREE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WE HAVE
ESTABLISHED IS SO CONGENIAL WITH REASON, WITH COMMON SENSE,
AND WITH A UNIVERSAL FEELING, THAT IT MUST PRODUCE APPRO-
BATION AND A DESIRE OF IMITATION, AS AVENUES MAY BE FOUND
FOR TRUTH TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF NATIONS. OUR COUNTRY, IF
IT DOES JUSTICE TO ITSELF, WILL BE THE WORKSHOP OF
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PAGE 05 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

LIBERTY TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD, AND DO MORE THAN ANY
OTHER FOR THE UNCIVILIZED." THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS
OUTLOOK WOULD LEAD BOTH TO THE ADVOCACY OF INTERVENTIONISM
-- AS EDWARD EVERETT'S 1823 CASE FOR SUPPORTING THE GREEK
REVOLUTION -- AND ISOLATION -- AS WILLIAM SEWARD'S 1863
REBUTTAL OF REQUESTS TO SUPPORT RUSSIA'S MISTREATMENT OF
POLAND.

8. YET THROUGHOUT THE 19TH CENTURY, OUR GREATEST ACHIEVE-
MENTS CAME THROUGH EFFORTS MARKED BY BOTH MORAL VISION
AND PRACTICAL PURPOSE. THEODORE ROOSEVELT NOTED THAT
LONG BEFORE JEFFERSON NEGOTIATED AN END TO THE FRENCH

CLAIM TO LOUISIANA, FOREIGN CLAIMS HAD BEEN EFFECTIVELY
UNDERMINED BY THE GREAT WESTERN MOVEMENT OF AMERICANS AND
THE FREE COMMUNITIES THEY QUICKLY FOUNDED. BUT THE
CONSOLIDATION OF THEIR PIONEERING ACHIEVEMENT WAS MADE
POSSIBLE BY THOSE NEGOTIATIONS AND BY THE SUBSEQUENT
SERIES OF REMARKABLE DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES. THE ANNEXATION
OF FLORIDA, THE OREGON BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT WITH GREAT
BRITAIN, THE TREATY OF GUADELOUPE HIDALGO, THE GADSDEN
PURCHASE, THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA FROM RUSSIA -- ALL

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PAGE 06 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

TRIUMPHS OF DIPLOMACY DURING DECADES WHEN MOST CITIZENS
BELIEVED AMERICA DID NOT HAVE -- OR NEED -- A FOREIGN
POLICY.

9. INDEED, OUR VERY ACHIEVEMENTS IN DEALING WITH THE
WORLD BROUGHT MOST AMERICANS UNDER THE SWAY OF A SHARED
MYTHOLOGY. AS A SOCIETY MADE UP OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO
HAD FLED THE PERSECUTIONS AND POWER POLITICS OF THE OLD
WORLD, AMERICANS -- WHETHER MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS OR
REFUGEES FROM THE FAILED REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 -- CAME TO
ASSUME THAT WE WERE BEYOND THE REACH OF THE IMPERATIVES
OF TRADITIONAL FOREIGN POLICY.

10. WHILE OUR SECURITY CONTINUED TO BE ASSURED BY GEO-
GRAPHY AND THE BRITISH NAVY, WE BECAME BEMUSED BY THE
POPULAR BELIEF THAT PRESIDENT MONROE'S OBLIGATION TO
DEFEND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND, INDEED, ALMOST ANY

OBLIGATION WE MIGHT CHOOSE TO ASSUME, DEPENDED ON
UNILATERAL AMERICAN DECISIONS TO BE ENTERED INTO OR ENDED
ENTIRELY AT OUR DISCRETION. SHIELDED BY TWO OCEANS AND
ENRICHED BY A BOUNTIFUL NATURE, WE PROCLAIMED OUR
SPECIAL SITUATION AS UNIVERSALLY VALID EVEN FOR NATIONS
WHOSE NARROWER MARGIN OF SURVIVAL MEANT THAT THEIR RANGE
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PAGE 07 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

OF CHOICES WAS FAR MORE LIMITED THAN OUR OWN.

11. IT WAS, AS C. VANN WOODWARD HAS CALLED IT, "THE AGE
OF FREE SECURITY." AS USUAL, ABRAHAM LINCOLN DEPICTED IT
MOST VIVIDLY. "SHALL WE EXPECT SOME TRANS-ATLANTIC GIANT
TO STEP THE OCEAN AND CRUSH US AT A BLOW? NEVER -- ALL
THE ARMIES OF EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA COMBINED, WITH
ALL THE TREASURE OF THE EARTH IN THEIR MILITARY CHEST,
WITH A BONAPARTE FOR A COMMANDER, COULD NOT BY FORCE
TAKE A DRINK FROM THE OHIO OR MAKE A TRACK ON THE BLUE
RIDGE IN A TRIAL OF A THOUSAND YEARS."

12. WE DISPARAGED POWER EVEN AS WE GREW STRONG; WE TENDED
TO SEE OUR SUCCESSES AS THE PRODUCT NOT OF FORTUNATE
CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONSIDERABLE EFFORT, BUT OF VIRTUE AND
PURITY OF MOTIVE. THE PREOCCUPATION OF OTHER NATIONS
WITH SECURITY ONLY REINFORCED OUR SENSE OF UNIQUENESS.
WE CAME INCREASINGLY TO REGARD DIPLOMACY WITH SUSPICION.
ARMS AND ALLIANCES WERE SEEN AS IMMORAL AND REACTIONARY.
NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONSIDERED LESS A MEANS OF RECONCILING

OUR IDEALS WITH OUR INTERESTS THAN A DEVICE TO ENTANGLE

US IN THE ENDLESS QUARRELS OF A MORALLY QUESTIONABLE

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PAGE 08 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

WORLD. OUR NATIVE INCLINATION FOR STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS

BROUGHT INCREASING IMPATIENCE WITH DIPLOMACY, WHOSE

ESSENTIAL ATTRIBUTE IS AMBIGUITY AND COMPROMISE.

13. IN THIS ATMOSPHERE EVEN THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA --

WHICH EXCLUDED RUSSIA FROM OUR CONTINENT -- WAS REGARDED

IN ITS DAY AS A TOWERING FOLLY EXPLAINABLE ONLY IN TERMS

OF AMERICAN GULLIBILITY IN THE FACE OF OLD WORLD DIPLO-

MATIC GUILTY. CONGRESS WAS PREVAILED UPON ONLY WITH THE

GREATEST DIFFICULTY TO PROVIDE THE SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS

TO COMPLETE THE DEAL. THE MYTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN INEPTI-

TUDE IN ITS DIPLOMATIC PURSUITS HAS CARRIED INTO THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY. WILL ROGERS WAS ALWAYS ASSURED OF

A LAUGH WHEN HE CRACKED, "AMERICA NEVER LOST A WAR AND

NEVER WON A CONFERENCE."

14. FORGETFUL OF THE WISDOM AND SKILLED STATECRAFT BY

WHICH THE FOUNDING FATHERS WON OUR INDEPENDENCE AND

SECURED OUR SAFETY, AND DISDAINFUL OF THE TECHNIQUES

BY WHICH ALL NATIONS -- EVEN THE UNITED STATES -- MUST

PRESERVE THEIR INTERESTS, AMERICA ENTERED THE TWENTIETH

CENTURY -- THE MOST COMPLEX AND TURBULENT TIME IN HISTORY--

LARGELY UNPREPARED FOR THE PART WE WOULD BE CALLED UPON

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PAGE 09 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

TO PLAY.

15. AS OUR POWER GREW, WE BECAME UNCOMFORTABLE WITH ITS
USES AND RESPONSIBILITIES AND IMPATIENT WITH THE COM-
PROMISES OF DAY-TO-DAY DIPLOMACY. OUR RISE TO THE STATUS
OF A GREAT POWER WAS FEARED AND RESISTED BY MANY AMERICANS
WHO FORESAW ONLY A PROCESS OF DEEPENING INVOLVEMENT IN A
MORALLY QUESTIONABLE WORLD.

16. IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THIS CENTURY WE SOUGHT TO
RECONCILE THE TENSION BETWEEN IDEALS AND INTERESTS BY
CONFINING OURSELVES TO HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS AND RESORT TO
OUR BELIEF IN THE PREEMINENCE OF LAW. WE PIONEERED IN
RELIEF PROGRAMS; WE CHAMPIONED FREE TRADE AND THE CAUSE
OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT. WE ATTEMPTED TO LEGISLATE SOLU-
TIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS -- WE EXPERIMENTED
WITH ARBITRATION, CONCILIATION, JUDICIAL ARRANGEMENTS,
TREATIES TO ABOLISH WAR, NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION,
COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEMS.

17. THESE EFFORTS TO BANISH THE REALITY OF POWER WERE
ABORTED BY OUR INVOLVEMENT IN TWO WORLD WARS. WHILE
WE HAD A CLEAR SECURITY INTEREST IN A EUROPE FREE FROM

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PAGE 10 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

DOMINATION BY ANY ONE POWER WE CLOTHED THAT INTEREST IN
HIGH MORAL ASSERTION. WOODROW WILSON ARGUED THE CASE FOR

AN ACTIVIST FOREIGN POLICY IN TERMS WHOLLY IDEALISTIC.
TO JUSTIFY OUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT HE
SAID IN 1917, "TO TAKE PART IN SUCH A SERVICE WILL BE THE
OPPORTUNITY FOR WHICH (THE AMERICAN PEOPLE) HAVE SOUGHT
TO PREPARE THEMSELVES BY THE VERY PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES
OF THEIR POLITY AND THE APPROVED PRACTICES OF THEIR
GOVERNMENT EVER SINCE THE DAYS WHEN THEY SET UP A NEW
NATION IN THE HIGH AND HONORABLE HOPE THAT IT MIGHT
IN ALL THAT IT WAS AND DID SHOW MANKIND THE WAY TO
LIBERTY." THUS WE WOULD DO BATTLE FOR UNIVERSAL MORAL
OBJECTIVES, "A WAR TO END ALL WARS" OR THE UNCONDITIONAL
SURRENDER OF THE AGGRESSOR.

18. DISILLUSIONMENT SET IN AS THE OUTCOME OF BOTH WORLD
WARS NECESSARILY FELL SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS. AFTER THE
FIRST WAR, A TIDE OF ISOLATIONIST SENTIMENT ROSE, IN
WHICH MORAL PROCLAMATIONS WERE COUPLED WITH AN UNWILLING-
NESS TO UNDERTAKE CONCRETE COMMITMENTS. WE WERE LOATH TO
FACE A WORLD OF IMPERFECT SECURITY, ALLIANCES OF
CONVENIENCE, RECURRENT CRISES AND THE NEED FOR A POLITICAL
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PAGE 11 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

STRUCTURE THAT WOULD SECURE THE PEACE.

19. WE UNDERTOOK OUR FIRST SUSTAINED PERIOD OF PEACETIME
WORLD LEADERSHIP IN THE DECADES AFTER WORLD WAR II, WITH
A SUPREME SELF-ASSURANCE FORTUNATELY MATCHED BY OVER-
WHELMING MATERIAL SUPERIORITY. AND WE FACED AN ANTAGONIST

WHOSE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ACTIONS ON THE WORLD SCENE
EXPLICITLY THREATENED THE VERY EXISTENCE OF OUR MOST
CHERISHED PRINCIPLES.

20. IN A PERIOD OF SEEMINGLY CLEAR-CUT, BLACK-AND-WHITE
DIVISIONS, WE HARBORED FEW DOUBTS ABOUT THE VALIDITY OF
OUR TRADITIONAL APPROACH. WE SAW ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
AROUND THE WORLD -- WHICH WE HAD SOLVED SUCCESSFULLY IN
OUR OWN COUNTRY -- AND SOUGHT TO OVERWHELM THEM WITH
THE SHEER WEIGHT OF RESOURCES -- OFTEN WITH STARTLING
SUCCESS. WE PROJECTED OUR DOMESTIC EXPERIENCE OVERSEAS
AND ASSUMED THAT ECONOMIC PROGRESS AUTOMATICALLY LED TO
POLITICAL STABILITY. AND IN THE PROCESS, WITHOUT MAKING
A CONSCIOUS DECISION TO DO SO, WE WERE TRYING TO SHAPE
THE WORLD TO OUR DESIGN.

21. OUR POST WAR POLICY WAS MARKED BY GREAT ACHIEVE-
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PAGE 12 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

MENTS. AMERICA FOUND WITHIN ITSELF EXTRAORDINARY
CAPACITIES OF STATESMANSHIP AND CREATIVITY. LEADERS OF
BOTH PARTIES AND MANY BACKGROUNDS -- TRUMAN AND EISEN-
HOWER, VANDENBERG AND MARSHALL, ACHESON AND DULLES --
BUILT A NATIONAL CONSENSUS FOR RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN
WORLD LEADERSHIP, FOR A FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON BOTH
PRINCIPLE AND PRAGMATISM.

22. ALBERT EINSTEIN SAID AT THE OUTSET OF THE NUCLEAR
AGE THAT "EVERYTHING HAS CHANGED, EXCEPT OUR MODE OF

THINKING". TO COPE WITH A WORLD WHOSE BASIC CONDITIONS WERE SO RADICALLY ALTERED WAS A TASK COMPARABLE IN MAGNITUDE TO THAT WHICH FACED THE FOUNDING FATHERS. WHEN DEAN ACHESON SAID HE WAS "PRESENT AT THE CREATION," HE REFERRED NOT ONLY TO THE CREATION OF OUR POSTWAR POLICY, BUT TO A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

23. AMERICANS IN THE POSTWAR DECADES HELPED BUILD A MORE STABLE, SECURE AND PROSPEROUS WORLD. THE RECOVERY OF WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN, THE CREATION AND REVITALIZATION OF PEACETIME ALLIANCES, THE SHAPING OF THE GLOBAL TRADE AND MONETARY SYSTEM, THE ECONOMIC ADVANCE OF NEWER AND POORER NATIONS, THE MEASURES TO CONTROL THE NUCLEAR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 13 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

ARMS RACE -- THESE COMPRISE AN ENDURING ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP.

24. WE FACE AN EQUALLY GREAT CHALLENGE TODAY. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS COMING FULL CIRCLE. WITH SOPHISTICATION, THE FOUNDING FATHERS MANIPULATED THE BALANCE OF POWER TO GAIN OUR INDEPENDENCE AND THEN DREW ON THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM TO ASSURE OUR SURVIVAL. A CENTURY AND A QUARTER OF ALMOST TOTAL SECURITY TEMPTED US INTO ISOLATIONISM. AFTER TWO WORLD WARS IN THIS CENTURY, WE BEGAN TO SEE THAT THE RESPONSIBILITIES -- AND THE BURDENS -- OF WORLD LEADERSHIP WERE INESCAPABLE. TODAY, AMERICA IS THRUST INTO THE ROLE OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP WITH A DUAL RESPONSI-

BILITY; WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR SECURITY AND GLOBAL PEACE BY
THE TRADITIONAL METHODS OF BALANCE OF POWER AND DIPLOMACY.
BUT WE KNOW THAT NUCLEAR WAR COULD DESTROY CIVILIZATION,
AND THEREFORE WE MUST GO BEYOND TRADITIONAL FOREIGN
POLICY TO SHAPE A MORE COOPERATIVE WORLD REFLECTING THE
IMPERATIVES OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND JUSTICE.

25. WE REMAIN THE STRONGEST NATION AND THE LARGEST SINGLE
INFLUENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. FOR THIRTY YEARS, OUR
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PAGE 14 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

LEADERSHIP HAS SUSTAINED WORLD PEACE, PROGRESS, AND
JUSTICE. OUR LEADERSHIP IS NO LESS NEEDED TODAY, BUT IT
MUST BE REDEFINED TO MEET CHANGING CONDITIONS. OURS IS
NO LONGER A WORLD OF AMERICAN NUCLEAR MONOPOLY, BUT ONE
OF SUBSTANTIAL NUCLEAR EQUIVALENCE. OURS IS NO LONGER A
WORLD OF TWO SOLID BLOCS AND CLEAR-CUT DIVIDING LINES,
BUT ONE OF PROLIFERATING CENTERS OF POWER AND
INFLUENCE. OURS IS NO LONGER A WORLD AMENABLE TO NATIONAL
OR REGIONAL SOLUTIONS, BUT ONE OF ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE
AND COMMON GLOBAL CHALLENGES.

26. THUS, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, WE
CAN NEITHER ESCAPE FROM THE WORLD NOR DOMINATE IT.
RATHER, WE -- LIKE ALL OTHER NATIONS IN HISTORY -- MUST
NOW CONDUCT DIPLOMACY WITH SUBTLETY, FLEXIBILITY,
PERSISTENCE, AND IMAGINATION IF WE ARE TO PRESERVE AND

FORWARD OUR NATIONAL GOALS. WE MUST ONCE AGAIN COMBINE
OUR GREAT NATIONAL ASSETS OF IDEALISM AND REALISM. TO
JOIN THE PRINCIPLED AND THE PRAGMATIC IS NOT NEW TO
AMERICA; IT IS IN OUR OLDEST AND GREATEST NATIONAL
TRADITION. WE CAN NO LONGER IMPOSE OUR OWN SOLUTIONS; YET
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 15 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

OUR ACTION OR INACTION WILL INFLUENCE EVENTS, OFTEN
DECISIVELY. WE CANNOT BANISH POWER FROM INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS, BUT WE CAN USE OUR VAST POWER WISELY AND FIRMLY
TO DETER AGGRESSION AND ENCOURAGE RESTRAINT. WE CAN
ENCOURAGE THE RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES THROUGH
NEGOTIATION. WE CAN HELP CONSTRUCT MORE EQUITABLE
RELATIONS BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS, AND
A WIDER COMMUNITY OF INTEREST AMONG ALL NATIONS. AND WE
MUST CONTINUE TO STAND FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY IN
THE WORLD.

27. THESE ARE WORTHY GOALS. THEY CAN BE ACHIEVED. BUT
THEY SUMMON A DIFFERENT DIMENSION OF MORAL CONVICTION
THAN THAT OF A SIMPLER PAST. THEY REQUIRE THE STAMINA TO
PERSEVERE AMID AMBIGUITY AND ENDLESS EXERTION; THE
COURAGE TO HOLD FAST TO WHAT WE BELIEVE IN WHILE RECOG-
NIZING THAT AT ANY ONE TIME OUR HOPES ARE LIKELY TO BE
ONLY PARTIALLY FULFILLED.

28. WE MUST ALWAYS KEEP IN MIND THAT IT WAS PRECISELY
UNDER THE BANNERS OF UNIVERSAL MORALISTIC SLOGANS, THAT

A DECADE AND A HALF AGO WE LAUNCHED INTO ADVENTURES THAT

DIVIDED OUR COUNTRY AND UNDERMINED OUR INTERNATIONAL
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PAGE 16 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

POSITION. IT IS ONLY IN THE LAST FEW YEARS THAT WE HAVE

FINALLY BEGUN TO BRING OUR COMMITMENTS INTO LINE WITH OUR

CAPABILITIES.

29. CLEARLY WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR VALUES AND OUR PRIN-

CIPLES; BUT WE RISK DISASTER UNLESS WE RELATE THEM TO

CONCEPTS OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND INTERNATIONAL

ORDER THAT ARE BASED NOT ON IMPULSE BUT ON A SENSE OF

STEADY PURPOSE THAT CAN BE MAINTAINED BY THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE FOR THE LONG TERM.

30. THIS IS NOT A CHOICE BETWEEN MORALITY AND PRAGMATISM.

WE CANNOT ESCAPE EITHER AND STILL REMAIN TRUE TO OUR

NATIONAL CHARACTER OR TO THE NEEDS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

OUR CAUSE MUST BE JUST, BUT IT MUST PROSPER IN A WORLD OF

SOVEREIGN NATIONS AND COMPETING WILLS. WE CAN ACHIEVE NO

POSITIVE ENDS UNLESS WE SURVIVE; AND SURVIVAL HAS ITS

PRACTICAL NECESSITIES. NEITHER MORALISTIC RHETORIC NOR

OBSESSION WITH PURE POWER POLITICS WILL PRODUCE A FOREIGN

POLICY WORTHY OF OUR OPPORTUNITY -- OR ADEQUATE FOR OUR

SURVIVAL.

31. AMERICA -- AND THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS -- TODAY

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PAGE 17 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

FACES INESCAPABLE TASKS:

-- WE MUST MAINTAIN A SECURE AND JUST PEACE;

-- WE MUST CREATE A COOPERATIVE AND BENEFICIAL INTER-

NATIONAL ORDER;

-- WE MUST DEFEND THE RIGHTS AND THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

EACH OF THESE CHALLENGES HAS BOTH A MORAL AND A PRACTICAL

DIMENSION. EACH INVOLVES IMPORTANT ENDS, BUT ENDS THAT

ARE SOMETIMES IN CONFLICT. WHEN THAT IS THE CASE WE FACE

THE REAL MORAL DILEMMA OF FOREIGN POLICY: THE NEED TO

CHOOSE BETWEEN VALID ENDS AND TO RELATE OUR ENDS TO

MEANS.

32. IN AN AGE WHEN NUCLEAR CATAclysm THREATENS

MANKIND'S VERY SURVIVAL, PEACE IS THE FUNDAMENTAL MORAL

IMPERATIVE. WITHOUT IT, NOTHING ELSE WE DO OR SEEK CAN

ULTIMATELY HAVE MEANING. LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE ABOUT

IT -- AVERTING THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR AND LIMITING

AND ULTIMATELY REDUCING DESTRUCTIVE NUCLEAR ARSENALS

IS A MORAL AS WELL AS POLITICAL ACT.

33. IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, TRADITIONAL POWER POLITICS,

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARGINAL ADVANTAGES, THE DRIVE FOR

PRESTIGE AND UNILATERAL GAINS MUST YIELD TO AN
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PAGE 18 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

UNPRECEDENTED SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. HISTORY

TEACHES US THAT BALANCES BASED ON CONSTANT TESTS OF

STRENGTH HAVE ALWAYS ERUPTED INTO WAR. BUT COMMON
SENSE TELLS US THAT IN THE NUCLEAR AGE HISTORY CANNOT
BE PERMITTED TO REPEAT ITSELF. EVERY PRESIDENT,
SOONER OR LATER, WILL CONCLUDE WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER
THAT, "THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO PEACE."

34. BUT PEACE, HOWEVER CRUCIAL, CANNOT BE OUR ONLY
GOAL. TO SEEK IT AT ANY PRICE WOULD RENDER US MORALLY
DEFENSELESS AND PLACE THE WORLD AT THE MERCY OF THE
MOST RUTHLESS. MANKIND MUST DO MORE, AS TACITUS SAID,
THAN "MAKE A DESERT AND CALL IT PEACE."

35. THERE WILL BE NO SECURITY IN A WORLD WHOSE
OBSESSION WITH PEACE LEADS TO APPEASEMENT; BUT NEITHER
WILL THERE BE SECURITY IN A WORLD IN WHICH MOCK TOUGH
RHETORIC AND THE ACCUMULATION OF ARMS IS THE SOLE
MEASURE OF COMPETITION. WE CAN SPARE NO EFFORT TO
BEQUEATH TO FUTURE GENERATIONS A PEACE MORE HOPEFUL
THAN AN EQUILIBRIUM OF TERROR.

36. BARELY FOUR YEARS AGO DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE STREETS
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PAGE 19 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

DEMANDED "PEACE" AS OVERRIDING ALL OTHER CONSIDERATIONS;
TODAY POLICIES OF CONCILIATION ARE FREQUENTLY DENOUNCED
AS UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS. BOTH EXTREMES FALSIFY OUR
CHALLENGE. IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE WE ARE CONTINUALLY
CALLED UPON TO STRIKE BALANCES -- BETWEEN STRENGTH
AND CONCILIATION; BETWEEN THE NEED TO DEFEND OUR VALUES

AND OUR INTERESTS AND THE NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
THE VIEWS OF OTHERS; BETWEEN PARTIAL AND TOTAL
SETTLEMENTS. THE TASK OF FOREIGN POLICY IS TO FIND THAT
BALANCE BETWEEN COMPETING ENDS AND BETWEEN ENDS AND
MEANS.

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37. AMERICA'S SECOND MORAL IMPERATIVE IS THE GROWING
NEED FOR GLOBAL COOPERATION.

38. WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF MORE THAN 150 COUNTRIES,
EACH ASSERTING SOVEREIGNTY AND CLAIMING THE RIGHT TO
REALIZE ITS RATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. CLEARLY NO NATION
CAN FULFILL ALL ITS GOALS WITHOUT INFRINGING ON THE
RIGHTS OF OTHERS. HENCE, COMPROMISE AND COMMON ENDEAVORS
ARE INESCAPABLE ON SOME ISSUES, AT LEAST. THE GROWING
INTERDEPENDENCE OF STATES IN THE FACE OF THE POLARIZING
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PAGE 20 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

TENDENCIES OF NATIONLISM AND IDEOLOGIES MAKES
IMPERATIVE THE BUILDING OF WORLD COMMUNITY.

39. WE LIVE IN AN AGE OF DIVISION -- DIVISION BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST, AND BETWEEN THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL
NATIONS AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS. CLEARLY A WORLD
IN WHICH A FEW NATIONS CONSTITUTE ISLANDS OF WEALTH
IN A SEA OF POVERTY, DISEASE AND DESPAIR IS FUNDAMENTALLY
INSECURE AND MORALLY INTOLERABLE. THOSE NATIONS THAT
CONSIDER THEMSELVES DISPOSSESSED WILL BECOME THE SEEDBED
OF UPHEAVAL. BUT THE TACTICS OF CONFRONTATION WITH

WHICH SOME OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE PURSUED

THEIR GOALS ARE ALSO BOTH INTOLERABLE AND UNSAFE.

40. THE CHALLENGE OF WORLD COMMUNITY WILL REQUIRE

REALISTIC ASSUMPTIONS AND ACTIONS BY NORTH AND SOUTH

ALIKE. THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS SHOULD NOT BE OBSESSED

WITH GUILT OR WEDDED TO THE STATUS QUO. THE DEVELOPING

NATIONS SHOULD NOT SEEK TO GAIN THEIR OBJECTIVES

THROUGH EXTORTION OR BLACKMAIL. WHAT IS REQUIRED ALL

AROUND IS A SERIOUS DEDICATION TO THE REQUIREMENTS

OF COOPERATION WITHOUT WHICH NEITHER GROUP CAN ACHIEVE

ITS GOALS.

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PAGE 21 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

41. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS ARE

CLEAR: THEY WANT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, A ROLE IN

INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS THAT AFFECT THEM, AND FAIR SHARE

OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC BENEFITS. THE GOALS OF THE

INDUSTRIAL NATIONS ARE EQUALLY CLEAR: WIDENING

PROSPERITY, AN OPEN WORLD SYSTEM OF TRADE AND INVESTMENTS

WITH EXPANDING MARKETS FOR NORTH AND SOUTH; AND

RELIABLE AND EQUITABLE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD'S

RESOURCES OF FOOD, ENERGY, AND RAW MATERIALS.

42. THE GOALS OF BOTH SIDES CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY IF

THEY ARE SEEN AS COMPLEMENTARY RATHER THAN ANTAGONISTIC.

THE PROCESS OF BUILDING A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL

ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS WILL CONTINUE THROUGH THE REST

OF THIS CENTURY. IF THOSE RELATIONSHIPS ARE TO BE
EQUITABLE AND LASTING, NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE AMONG
DIVERSE AND CONTENDING INTERESTS WILL CLEARLY BE
REQUIRED. ABOVE ALL, A MORAL ACT WILL BE NECESSARY:
ON THE PART OF THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS, A WILLINGNESS TO
MAKE -- WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME FOR CONCILIATION -- THE
SACRIFICES NECESSARY TO BUILD A SENSE OF COMMUNITY;

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PAGE 22 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

AND ON THE PART OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, A READINESS
TO FOREGO BLACKMAIL AND EXTORTION -- NOW, BEFORE THE
WORLD IS IRREVOCABLY SPLIT INTO CONTENDING CAMPS --
AND TO SEEK PROGRESS THROUGH COOPERATION.

43. OUR THIRD MORAL IMPERATIVE IS THE NURTURING OF
HUMAN VALUES. IT IS THE TRAGEDY OF OUR TIMES THAT THE
VERY TOOLS OF TECHNOLOGY THAT HAVE MADE OURS THE MOST
PRODUCTIVE CENTURY IN THE HISTORY OF MAN HAVE ALSO
SERVED TO SUBJECT MILLIONS TO A NEW DIMENSION OF
INTIMIDATION AND SUFFERING AND FEAR.

44. INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND EXPRESSION
IS THE PROUDEST HERITAGE OF OUR CIVILIZATION. ALL WE
DO IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE, IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
GREATER POLITICAL COOPERATION AND FOR A FAIR AND
FLOURISHING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY, IS ROOTED IN OUR
BELIEF THAT ONLY LIBERTY PERMITS THE FULLEST EXPRESSION
OF MANKIND'S CREATIVITY. WE KNOW THAT TECHNOLOGICAL

PROGRESS WITHOUT JUSTICE MOCKS HUMANITY; THAT

NATIONAL UNITY WITHOUT FREEDOM IS A HOLLOW TRIUMPH

AND THAT NATIONALISM WITHOUT A CONSCIOUSNESS OF HUMAN

COMMUNITY -- INCLUDING A CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS -- IS
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PAGE 23 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

LIKELY TO BECOME AN INSTRUMENT OF OPPRESSION AND A

FORCE FOR EVIL.

45. IT IS OUR OBLIGATION AS THE WORLD'S LEADING

DEMOCRACY TO DEDICATE OURSELVES TO ASSURING FREEDOM

FOR THE HUMAN SPIRIT. BUT RESPONSIBILITY COMPELS ALSO

A RECOGNITION OF OUR LIMITS. OUR ALLIANCES, THE

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS BUILT UP BETWEEN OURSELVES AND

OTHER NATIONS OVER THE YEARS, SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE

BY STRENGTHENING REGIONAL AND WORLD SECURITY. IF WELL

CONCEIVED, THEY ARE NOT FAVORS TO OTHERS, BUT A

RECOGNITION OF COMMON INTERESTS. THEY SHOULD BE WITH-

DRAWN WHEN THOSE INTERESTS CHANGE; THEY SHOULD NOT,

AS A GENERAL RULE, BE USED AS LEVERS TO EXTORT A

STANDARD OF CONDUCT OR TO PUNISH ACTS WITH WHICH WE DO

NOT AGREE. IN MANY COUNTRIES -- WHATEVER OUR DIFFERENCES

WITH THEIR INTERNAL STRUCTURES -- THE PEOPLE ARE UNIFIED

IN SEEKING OUR PROTECTION AGAINST OUTSIDE AGGRESSION.

IN MANY COUNTRIES, OUR FOREIGN POLICY RELATIONSHIPS

HAVE PROVED TO BE NO OBSTACLE TO THE FORCES OF CHANGE.

AND IN OTHERS THE PROCESS OF AMERICAN DISENGAGEMENT HAS

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PAGE 24 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

ERODED THE SENSE OF SECURITY, CREATING A PERCEIVED NEED
FOR GREATER INTERNAL DISCIPLINE -- WHILE AT THE SAME
TIME DIMINISHING OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE DOMESTIC
PRACTICES WE CRITICIZE.

46. THERE IS NO SIMPLE ANSWER TO THE DILEMMA A GREAT
DEMOCRACY FACES UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. WE HAVE A
MORAL AS WELL AS A PRACTICAL OBLIGATION TO STAND UP
FOR OUR VALUES AND TO COMBAT INJUSTICE. THOSE WHO
SPEAK OUT FOR FREEDOM AND EXPOSE THE TRANSGRESSIONS
OF REPRESSIVE REGIMES DO SO IN THE BEST AMERICAN
TRADITION. THEY CAN HAVE -- AND HAVE HAD -- A DRAMATIC
AND HEARTENING IMPACT. BUT THERE ARE ALSO TIMES WHEN
AN EFFORT TO TEACH ANOTHER COUNTRY A MORAL LESSON CAN
UNDERMINE THE VERY VALUES WE SEEK TO PROMOTE. WE MUST
BEND EVERY EFFORT TO ENHANCE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS,
BUT A PUBLIC CRUSADE IS FREQUENTLY NOT THE MOST
EFFECTIVE METHOD. OUR OBJECTIVE MUST BE RESULTS,
NOT PUBLICITY. WHEN SENSITIVE ISSUES ARE TRANSFORMED
INTO TESTS OF STRENGTH BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS, THE IMPULSE
FOR NATIONAL PRESTIGE WILL DEFEAT THE MOST WORTHY GOALS.

47. THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT AN EASY ONE
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PAGE 25 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

AND IT SHOULD BE PRESENTED WITH A FULL AWARENESS OF ITS
COMPLEXITY. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LAST DECADE SHOULD
HAVE TAUGHT US THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO EXAGGERATE OUR
CAPACITY TO FORESEE, LET ALONE TO SHAPE SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL CHANGE IN OTHER SOCIETIES. IF EVERY NATION
OF THE WORLD PRESSES FOR THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION
OF ALL OF ITS VALUES, HOPES AND DESIRES, ETERNAL CONFLICT
IS INEVITABLE. IF WE INSIST THAT OTHERS ACCEPT ALL
OUR MORAL PREFERENCES, ARE WE THEN READY TO USE MILITARY
FORCE TO PROTECT THOSE WHO DO AS WE URGE? AND IF THOSE
WHO REFUSE OUR PRESCRIPTIONS ARE DEPRIVED OF OUR
SUPPORT, WHAT WILL WE DO IF THE ISOLATION OF THESE
GOVERNMENTS TEMPTS EXTERNAL PRESSURES OR ATTACK BY
OTHER COUNTRIES EVEN MORE REPRESSIVE? WILL WE HAVE
SERVED MORAL ENDS, IF WE THEREBY JEOPARDIZE OUR OWN
SECURITY? IF WE BACK UP UNIVERSAL MORAL CLAIMS WITH
POWER, WE TAKE UPON OURSELVES THE ROLE OF THE WORLD'S
POLICEMAN -- A ROLE WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE
REJECTED IN A DECADE OF TURMOIL. BUT IF WE FAIL TO
BACK UP THESE CLAIMS, WE WILL LOSE RELEVANCE AND
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PAGE 26 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

CREDIBILITY; WE WILL BE CONDUCTING A POLICY OF SELF-
GRATIFICATION WITHOUT EFFECTIVENESS AND ULTIMATELY
WITHOUT STATURE. IS IT MORE MORAL TO ATTEMPT WHAT
CANNOT BE ACCOMPLISHED AND FAIL THAN TO MAKE ONLY THOSE

COMMITMENTS THAT WE KNOW WE CAN KEEP?

48. THERE IS NOTHING MORE ESSENTIAL FOR AMERICANS
TODAY THAN THE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THE INEVITABLE AND
INESCAPABLE TENSION BETWEEN OUR MORAL AIMS -- WHICH OF
NECESSITY ARE STATED IN UNIVERSAL TERMS -- AND THE
CONSTANT IMPERATIVE OF CHOICE THAT IS IMPOSED UPON
US BY COMPETING GOALS AND FINITE RESOURCES. THE
MAKING AND IMPLEMENTING OF FOREIGN POLICY IS, LIKE LIFE,
A CONSTANT EFFORT TO STRIKE THE RIGHT BALANCE BETWEEN
THE BEST WE WANT AND THE BEST WE CAN HAVE -- BETWEEN
THE ENDS WE SEEK AND THE MEANS WE ADOPT. WE NEED MORAL
STRENGTH TO SELECT AMONG OFTEN AGONIZING CHOICES AND A
SENSE OF ETHICAL PURPOSE TO NAVIGATE BETWEEN THE
SHOALS OF DIFFICULT DECISIONS. BUT WE NEED AS WELL A
MATURE SENSE OF MEANS, LEST WE SUBSTITUTE WISHFUL
THINKING FOR THE REQUIREMENTS OF SURVIVAL. THE ULTIMATE
TEST OF MORALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT ONLY THE
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PAGE 27 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

VALUES WE PROCLAIM BUT WHAT WE ARE WILLING AND ABLE TO
IMPLEMENT.

49. THE DILEMMAS OF MORAL CHOICE AND PRACTICAL
NEED SHOULD NOT LEAD TO RESIGNATION BUT TO HOPE.

50. AMERICA, BECAUSE OF ITS OWN HERITAGE, HAS
PERENNIALY ENGAGED IN A SEARCH OF ITS CONSCIENCE. HOW
DOES OUR FOREIGN POLICY SERVE MORAL ENDS? HOW CAN

AMERICA CARRY FORWARD ITS ROLE AS HUMANE EXAMPLES
AND CHAMPION OF JUSTICE IN A WORLD IN WHICH POWER IS
STILL OFTEN THE FINAL ARBITER? HOW DO WE SECURE BOTH
OUR EXISTENCE AND OUR VALUES? HOW DO WE RECONCILE ENDS
AND MEANS, PRINCIPLE AND SURVIVAL?

51. WE MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO FACE COMPLEXITY AND
THE INNER CONVICTION TO DEAL WITH AMBIGUITY; WE MUST BE
PREPARED TO LOOK BEHIND EASY SLOGANS AND RECOGNIZE THAT
GREAT GOALS CAN ONLY BE REACHED BY PATIENCE, AND OFTEN
ONLY IN GRADUAL STAGES.

52. AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD AFFAIRS HAS
DERIVED FROM OUR CONVICTION THAT WHILE HISTORY IS OFTEN
CRUEL, FATE CAN BE SHAPED BY HUMAN FAITH AND COURAGE.

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PAGE 28 STATE 301177 TOSEC 320201

OUR OPTIMISM HAS ENABLED US TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE
GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS WERE A DREAM BEFORE THEY BECAME
A REALITY. WE HAVE LEARNED THROUGH EXPERIENCE, AS
FEW PEOPLE HAVE, THAT ALL THAT IS CREATIVE IS ULTIMATELY
A MORAL AFFIRMATION -- THE FAITH THAT DARES IN THE
ABSENCE OF CERTAINTY; THE COURAGE TO GO FORWARD IN THE
FACE OF ADVERSITY.

53. A WORLD OF TURMOIL AND DANGER CRIES OUT FOR
STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP. THE TIMES SUMMON A STEADY,
RESOLUTE, PURPOSEFUL, AND SELF-ASSURED AMERICA. THIS
REQUIRES CONFIDENCE -- THE LEADERS' CONFIDENCE IN THEIR

VALUES, THE PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE IN ITS GOVERNMENT, AND
THE NATION'S COLLECTIVE CONFIDENCE IN THE WORTH OF ITS
OBJECTIVES. IT IS TIME TO REMIND OURSELVES THAT
WHILE WE MAY DISAGREE ABOUT MEANS, AS AMERICANS WE ALL
SHARE THE SAME DREAMS -- PEACE, PROSPERITY, AND JUSTICE
IN OUR NATION AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. END TEXT ROBINSON

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